Most of the residents of the village in Bridhol live a large number of settlement units of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the settlement units (*gaṛā*)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were mentioned as follows: "big place," "overhead" (i.e., the road which skirts it to the north), "sidewise" (mostly here north), "ten attended" (mostly absent), "house place" (as many people are present in the village), "little road" (a secondary road, see Fig. 4, No. 11), "gamra," "centre of town" (*nabi*), "small grassy fields place," "place of small silver grass" (no longer so), and "priest's shelter" (absent). Considerations could not be obtained for a few others, but outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Indian origin. No particular name is given to many sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *sāhi* has been applied in part of the central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 3) is relatively recent, for in general each section the part of a village which the name are limited.

Those portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *phāṛ*, which means the deep fields out which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic with the five particular sub-types. Others in use in the village are *sāli* (*phāṛ*—land without trees), *sāhibi* (land with trees), and *mahi* (orchard). Of these, the last is of particular interest. *Bahi* really means "land held at the margin." In Bhaṭṭoli, nearly all the land is held at the margin, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sāli* is encountered also some of the earlier names, but *sāhibi* and *mahi* are not, as far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Sāhni (the old path which is superseded now called *sarāj ki mandhiyā*—"road to the livestock spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Sāhni via Mal Khoṛa (*sarāj ki bāhiyā*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, there have named sections were recorded, and there are undoubtedly a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past events or associated events, or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves, the *pachpaṭṭi*, "the upper part," and the *sāhanā*, "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was some time up to three generations ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Khatrani Lhaṅgs 1, the lower part by Khatrani Lhaṅgs 2. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

[illegible]

[illegible] (See the chapters on "Dwelling Structure and Dwellings Contained" and "The Patterns of Cultural Change")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE TYPES

The map (Fig. 11) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper. Most of the six major (map, different plan, elevation) are now [illegible] in their uses. Actually, building 2 was not open during the period of study, but building 2 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent store. Building 12 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a teacher. The other half is open when the court orders, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old temple, is occupied by the fifth story, upon only at times, which specialties in cloth. The sixth story, also one of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, further down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the primary school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own home. Another the two laboratory are in the same are immediately adjacent to the homes of their respective owners, one of whom is the primary school master. Building 4 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an alien grain. There are, however, two other grains in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the [illegible] section, the other in the lower part of a house near the crossing point of the two [illegible] sections). There is a third grain establishment in the eastern end of the valley and a fourth at Kilim. Two of these grains are specialized for the collection of wool grain in a week from which [illegible], a kind of grain, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a Chinese-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 6. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 4 is occupied by one of the different Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, when these have wide terrace walls. This corresponds the gable terraces the houses are, in fact, the edge of wide terrace walls, and sometimes there are two or three feet higher than the walls which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels, in some cases there are [illegible] appurtenances. In many others, they are suggested, as that the wall of the lower level forms a very useful screen which is then with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The rooms a series of one or more [illegible] of massive wall-stone building from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that stairways would take up a great deal of room which seems to [illegible]. Frequently, the plan of the ground is such that one can simply walk over the roof of a lower house or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb over walls, often as

[illegible]

POPULATION

[illegible] is the focus of activity of a great deal of these [illegible] people. The [illegible] population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Lue Cheng	[illegible]
Neighbours in Lue	[illegible]
"Whites"	[illegible] plus
Others	[illegible]
	[illegible] plus

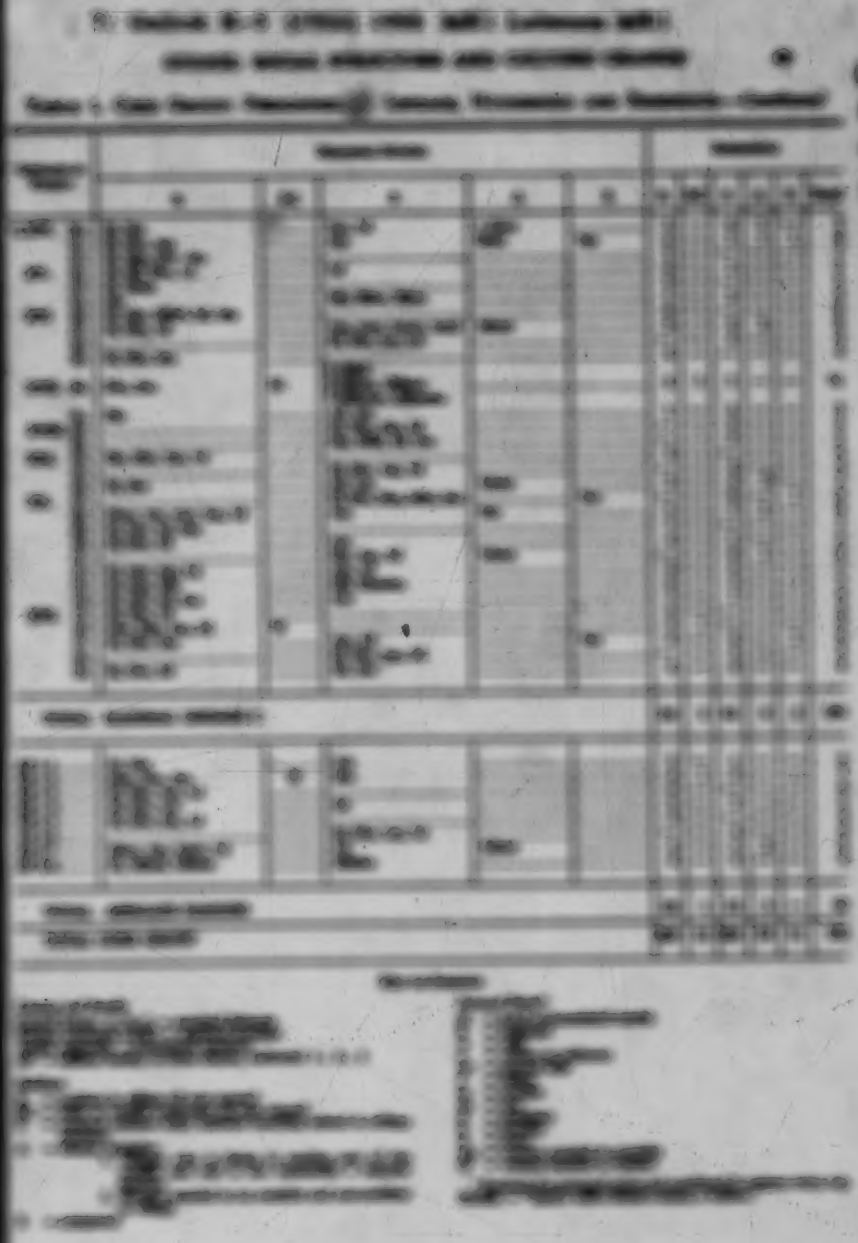
Theoretically, all of the males in "whites" groups are [illegible] compared to the Lue. Of the three, the "Whites" (Jiaoyu) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village in their many segments, with during part of the year. As for the members of the Lue Cheng are [illegible], the [illegible] components of the population are socially, as well as economically, long-[illegible], and [illegible] about their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Say, "What do you mean to learn about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In [illegible] one can see in the eyes of the Lue, the members of the Lue Cheng, [illegible] live in the village, whereas the three secondary component groups in the population are considered [illegible] residents in the village in [illegible] as most of the [illegible]. Therefore, we will be concerned with the Lue Cheng only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Neighbour Groups and the Whites in some detail in Appendix A.

THE LUE CHENG

Table 1, presents a considerable amount of data on the Lue Cheng. We shall not discuss questions in this point with the very important question of [illegible] these terms, which appears to [illegible] here in this note.

The [illegible] of the foreign names which is [illegible] in the table are as follows: The members of the Lue Cheng consider themselves to be direct descendants of a [illegible] named Mouan Jaola of Chiang Mai, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from [illegible], south of Kengtung, after a [illegible] in Burma. The youngest members of the Lue Cheng in present



[illegible]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Age-Group	Males	Females	Total	Age-Group	Males	Females	Total
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] agree to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village [illegible] are classified into early according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which the latter are distinguished and hardly defined as the other could. This section will deal with all of these except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the surrounding demographic fact shows of Mawali today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living [illegible] and working in Sidon or Tripoli. This trend was prevalent [illegible] there, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, living in the wake [illegible] the emigrations started just after by armed violence since 1975. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend in the city. It will be observed that of the 47 households: (1) are wholly resident, (2) are wholly nonresident, 4 have family who commute while the main body of the household is resident, (4) are split, (3) like (4) split households, (2) have the land and others resident, 1 have the land and others is resident only.

From this and the population totals, it is clear that a majority of residents and others in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total permanent only 10 per cent of the households are "nonresident" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *mujtiyat*) only. The other trend is nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Shkeinabeh since 1951 when (1) 4 per cent of the total population held jobs as more or school away from the village more months of the year (Thomson, 1954, p. 67). Thomson refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Khuri (1970, p. 177) says that in the al-Marj, a large village south and inland from Beirut, nearly all absent belong the modern. Patai (in a personal communication) records that low-altitude villages around [illegible] appeared to be largely deserted in proportion to 1911. Thomson (1910, p. 140) says that in general communications has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1950's, but we cannot say how the situation in Mawali compares to that in other villages.

the 97 households which have been recorded for the Core Group. This is because some of the heads of households are over the age of emigration, and because a few of the households do not have formal male heads.

The 'M' and 'F' columns indicate the number of individuals who held, respectively, village and urban (or extra-village) jobs. By far the majority, it can

Table 1. Occupations, Economy, Adult (15-49)

Area	Sex		Occupation														Economy	
	M	F	Agriculture	Animal husbandry	Agriculture and animal husbandry	Trade	Trade and agriculture	Trade and animal husbandry	Trade, agriculture and animal husbandry	Artisan	Artisan and agriculture	Artisan and animal husbandry	Artisan, agriculture and animal husbandry	Service	Service and agriculture	Service and animal husbandry	M	F
15-19	30	30			1	27	0	0	1	1	1		2				25	34
20-24	35	30	0		1			0	1	7		6	9	4			3	28
25-29	25 (20)*	3	0	1	1			1	0	9		4	5	5			6	19
30-34	9 (2)	1	1						1	4		2	1				1	6
35-39	8 (2)	1	1		1				2	2	1		2	1			2	7
40-44	10 (11)	3	0	1	1				3	4	2	2	1				11	12
45-49	10 (11)	3	1		0				0	5	0	0	1	2			9	10
50-54	10 (11)			0	1					1				1			10	1
55-59	11 (10)		0	1	1					1				1			8	3
60-64	9 (3)				0				1	1				2			4	1
65-69	3 (2)													1			3	
Total	171 (152)	46	10	10	10	28	0	1	17	37	3	17	24	18			80	125

* Number in parentheses = heads of households.

In addition:
Economy, as "at home" (all female) = 126.
Occupations are recorded 2 cases, 1 female) = 4.

be readily seen, from the table, in terms of gainful employment, 152 persons work in urban jobs (representing 1/3, the number of those in boarding school and college, Case 101). Similarly, the total of 61 in village occupations can immediately be reduced to 17 by subtracting the 10 pupils in the village schools. In addition, most of these listed as unemployed are village residents. The 'M' and 'F' columns suggest quite strongly the tendency for younger people to predominate in urban jobs, older people in predominate in village jobs.

The "unemployed" figures are the most reliable in the table. In the few place

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mounjid also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were *all fellahin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'labra, just outside the Quarn, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Khuri, 1960, p. 62), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fishermen	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	3
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (*nejjar*, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a mukhtar part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former store-

The boarding school, as well as the day school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion in that case is a manual labour, and they were obviously all employed to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practising physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Carpenter	1
Detective	1	Waiter	1
Barman	1	Hospital attendant	1
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	1
Tailor	2	Barmaid	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus three village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in Israel. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	0	7	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	1	4	2	12
25–29	13	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	13

"There are so many of us here or there we have," it was said. Several evidences of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the derelict houses and the fifty-odd extant houses in the village.

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted. (1) In Maternal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six adolescent females. Four of these, referred to here as "deceased" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one similar case in Maternal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of pensioners and long-standing

Table 7. Pensioners Remaining, Women Become or Known as Spinsters

Lineage	Men		Women	
	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
A	—	—	—	—
B	—	—	—	—
BB	1	—	0	—
BF	1	—	0	—
C	0	—	1	—
CC	1	—	1	—
CE	1	—	—	—
CEB	0	0	1	—
D	—	—	—	—
E	0	1	1	—
EE	1	—	0	—
EEE	1	—	0	1
EEEE	1	—	0	1
EEEEE	—	—	—	—
EEEEEE	—	—	—	—
EEEEEEE	1	0	—	—
EEEEEEEE	—	—	0	—
EEEEEEEEE	0	1	1	—
EEF	—	1	0	—
EEEF	—	—	—	—
Total	10	11	10	2

emigrants, eighty-two in all, who were recorded. These are merely a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of them thirty-eight departed between 1900 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1939. We are in the village persuade that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated with certainty their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of substantial status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in its culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various remarks suggested that it is on the decrease.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In a very few cases of mild incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own. Furthermore, in accordance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency, a unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is a wrong in a family in need. I am going to give five cents (twenty, ten) each we are willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask how much others are giving, and a contribution which is placed under each contributor may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Other and foreign societies undoubtedly use others to this.

[illegible]

Everyone in the village except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter, here it is appropriate to consider only the training which education has no occupations.

Literacy itself is no entry to Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Most literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborers, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mlaqat has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mlaqat depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. Its crops, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible] cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisirwan, Kura, Metn, and Shouf districts (Niven, 1948b, p. 140), but it has long since lost its economic

[illegible] textiles, and kind in a large glue jar bottle of soap, some common drink utensils, and thousand dusted (the performing Prince stone and hammer), nothing paper, pens, pencils, and ink, lamps, matts, mattresses, and mugs. Bedlights and lanterns—all of these as before are against the walls. We are grateful for so many that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except [illegible] and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried to some of the stores. All other larger items are brought directly from Seoul or Taejon.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores to some [illegible] out to divide any of the proprietors. When someone else pointed to the matter that not known. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clientele.

[illegible] One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Korea. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some evidence between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they are in competition, but you are [not] here to steward again at a bar the words the steward again.] There is a saying in Korea (Jokel "Korea regards it means "Every person for his himself." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his fair. For us, we helps the other because later the other will help the own. But it is more than mutual help, when it helps it, they say not more it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

[illegible] The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the idea of the Gold passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the kindness which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate to full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a generalized behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group [illegible]. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

[illegible] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notice, set forth by Kolen (1956, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—streets, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Mangil, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

the two communities are "assimilation" and integration of each other. The so-called "Romanian" Protestants of Moldavia are quite free from these fears, and frequently are even free following this pattern. Orthodox Christians in Europe have developed cosmopolitan patterns following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East communities was maximized under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the Millet system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as basic to the administrative framework under ecclesiastical leaders in the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, understandably enough, looked on the Christian minorities and called them "Rums," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Riley, 1914, p. 11). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rums. However, this is often confused with "Rumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Rumi Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Urthodoksiyy," a term which, like "Qaraishouni," does not sit well with Arabic-speaking Arabs.

Although it has no inherent hierarchy of parishes and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is usually the most stable and viable unit of "indigenous organization." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered originally, all orthodox churches represent free communities. Within the bounds of the ecclesiastical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulations and cult, every separate orthodox church is free as to inner life and management" (Zankov, 1930, p. 20).

What Zankov says of the Church in general is certainly true of the Arab members among whom local participation is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and often his ordination is a bit less much as his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land in his own way. He is usually married (Tannous, 1946, p. 141). Zankov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priest" service is no way like them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of person, to men other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of men" (1930, p. 90). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (ibid., p. 87).

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sabbas in Mayrūḥ is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the southeast wall. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three long walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and sprinkled with small gilt stars. An altar curtain,

[illegible]

The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It opposed around the streets of the church but to a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a sizable arrangement of flowers and another on her back. The women were followed by the men, and, eventually, most (also a hundred and fifty were present. One person was later told by [illegible] "the whole village" was there. The effort required on the part of each to come from his own street to the crossroads was of passage in forming the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the frames to the [illegible] of the church, and the priest greeted the mourners. Then was [illegible]. The whole crowd left the church again. There was an intense singing of the last [illegible], as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the female mourners, invited in black, withdrew to themselves. The greatest [illegible] of the deceased happened to coincide with [illegible] of the two [illegible] and that of the two wives. The newspaper contained at the first event, who had successfully become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the head of [illegible] of the two widowed lineages were closely [illegible], [illegible], as that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quite general conversation.

The working week of the primary and secondary funerals should be also two days. The fact that the other events outside the village to include the [illegible] events, which is the use of [illegible] is very clearly defined, is also significant. Here we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of [illegible] during the winter, a large number of [illegible] residents of [illegible] were among those who crowded his funeral. Caldwell (1968, p. 30) says that even in [illegible] where there is considerable presence of religions [illegible] funerals serve to bring together people of different religions to an event of common concern, thus extending [illegible] tendencies.

Young and old alike, the Mandilla were unanimous in declaring that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us must go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it is very much [illegible] for him. But he goes—we go; everyone goes—because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

[illegible]

[illegible]

In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village.

C.[illegible] A rather loose, the bulk of evening sociability take place in private homes. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly meet one with each other.

[illegible] These evening gatherings may involve merely gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is an addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Cantonese rules. Some years ago everyone received basic lessons with the book, "Before dan we had our own rules." The play is fast and decent and also rather noisy. Sometimes technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with loudly emotional and sub-vocal. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Poker is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are hodgepodge (*pao*) of which there are three versions, chess (*xiangqi*), the game of checkers (*tui mo*) (*duanzhuo*), and chess (*chinese*), which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word games are very popular also, and very frequently nothing is at stake but amusement or fame. For example, someone will write a poem or a letter in their accustomed forms in a circle. The others are then asked to make every one of what appears to be meaningless. The principle involved in such games as spoken words (e.g., the series of nonsensical letters resembling ambiguity in a set of nonsensical script letters in English), puns and decent grammatical solecisms.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *gobi*. In this, contestant A writes a poem or a of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then write lines which begin with the last letter of B's, and so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Set prompts verses, provided they rime and rhyme properly are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a night club of sorts but felt as it was without a break.

C.[illegible] In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes commingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

C.1.1 Those villagers who live and work away from Mowgli in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Sai Sinim, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "Little Mowgli" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have main-

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

THE DYNAMIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY

THE LINEAGE

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the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen in several factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zenner, 1955, p. 452). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of intra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *as such* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, locus of society, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward entrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1930 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized entrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of division society endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social mavericks.

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2. Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C", and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, two from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is virtually the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence fitted together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of so radical a change as a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time on so large a scale—unless there had already been so large a number of exceptions to the rule that its reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is held, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation; that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of absolutely prohibited relatives, the marriage system in Mamil is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the statistical lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not social or cultural patterns at all.

In Mamil, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and their children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Mamil), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his godparent's children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to before. Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the bilateral emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably, it is of so long standing among the Orthodox Arabs as their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Muhammad formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is necessarily lineage endogamy.

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

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Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to men of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were 'akid, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual siblingship in the second generation. Ordinarily the *ekhtu* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arraab*) of the children, while the *ekhtni* becomes their godmother (*'arraabe*). Between the godchildren (masc., *fal'yaan*; fem., *fal'yaani*) and the children of their godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohibition does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *ekhtu* and *ekhtni*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qursi (marriages within the Qursi are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

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after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of these now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munjid (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munjid. The marriage of women to out-

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

Date	Endogamous: Village	Endogamous: Quasi	Exogamous: Greek Orthodox	Exogamous: Other Christian	Exogamous: Muslim	Total Endog.	Total Exog.	% Exog.
1860–1869 *	5	—	—	—	—	5	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	23	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	25	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	3	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	2	—	2	2	71.0
Total	126	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

siders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite closely correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

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There is a definite distance between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tabe' zawjha*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Mansif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men could adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Mansif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of factus-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Mansif there is or now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some sets of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Mansif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

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tation. Though individuals are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in normal tasks.

Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There are some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, ...upil is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

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6. This divergence from the otherwise strongly unilineal organization of the village is interpreted as a compromise between incompatible religious and structural principles, neither of which, owing to the nature of the culture, can be wholly sacrificed for the other.

9. *As a unit of residence*, at least, the conjugal family is far more important than the extended family.

A recent paper by Meyer Fortes (1953) provides some additional theoretical perspective to some of these points. Fortes' argument is based largely on his own and other British anthropologists' work in certain African cultures whose principle of genealogical segmentation of lineages in general appears very similar to that in Munjid.

The following quotation throws some light on the situation in Munjid:

> A society made up of corporate lineages is in danger of splitting into rival lineage factions. How is this counteracted in the interests of wider political unity? One way is to extend the lineage framework to the widest range within which sanctions exist for preventing conflicts and disputes from ending in feud or warfare.
>
> Another way . . . is for the common interest of the political community to be asserted periodically, as against the private interests of the component lineages, through religious institutions and sanctions. (Fortes, 1953, p. 38.)

The genealogical structure of Munjid as a whole would appear to be just such an extension of the lineage framework. We do not know for sure whether universal descent from the founder is a historical fact or a fiction. It is, in either case, taken seriously by the villagers, and the emphasis on village endogamy, the de-emphasis on lineages as units of marriage regulation, and certain usages of kinship terminology lend support to Fortes' generalization as applied to Munjid. Furthermore, we have seen in the chapter "Socio-Religious Behavior" that periodic rituals clearly serve the function of uniting the village as a whole.

Again, Fortes generalizes from his African material to say that the bilateral family is a focal element even in unilineal systems, being a tie through sibling filiation between ego and his closest relatives who are not members of his descent group (Fortes, 1953, p. 33). This generalization appears to be closely supported in Munjid.

Lastly, Fortes states (*ibid.*, p. 31) that the maximum depth of lineages seems to be about fourteen generations, which is very close to the depth of Munjid's Core Group as a whole, but that five or six generations is more common, and these figures are not far from those for the average minimal lineage in Munjid.

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[illegible] personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be germane to this discussion.

Tannous (1944, p. 326) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 255), quoting from Hewelin, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kohn (1956, p. 75) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of likes and dislikes to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 83). He also notes quickness in comprehension, the gift of oratory, and deftness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

Thoumin (1956, p. 29) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian mentality, its mysticism (ascetic and voluptuous by turns), its passion for talk, and the pride of the individual in preserving a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

IN-GROUPS

The matter of in-groups in the culture of Munjid is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage; locality is the primary basis of the village; religion is the primary basis of al-Qumi. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qumi is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qumi—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outwards. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for Munjid, for there are strong suggestions that to the average Munjidi, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true as far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

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remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Mumsil is a single kinship unit.[1]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Mumsil from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Mumsil you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370-71).

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VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Maraqiā necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They rak the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now w are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to rak the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few ay piastres. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people sett down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is enough to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we used to bring water to the village. Not many can live o the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type o education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But e immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice th concern of many young fathers

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who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Mazrîl in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perh. ps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. *At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1940, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Mazrîl would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schreiger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Mazrîl and elsewhere, stenciled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1950, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 310 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 317 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 319 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From infancy, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "brother," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mungil, are Muslim.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 319.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

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later, but he conforms loyally to the community folkways and mores which have been inspired mainly by the rules of the church." (Touma, 1946, p. 540.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago at most, Mtoufi and the Mtoufites conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of them still continue in force.

One purpose now is to sort out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Touma, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we move upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-MUHAIT

Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village-to-be when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations lie between, according to the genealogy, descendant from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1590, and deduce that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on many arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction as far as dates are concerned.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Février (1950, p. 274), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and inland from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1590 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr ad-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Hitti (1950, p. 623) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khouri and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qurnil? This no one knows. It may be that they had been preceded there by relatives. At the present time there are four large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sarkis who supposedly came from Mtoufi or its site. It is thought that Sarkis must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

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[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a ravine. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Jiblī to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at 'Arqā, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhā'il, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshīt. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1855, vol. I, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Tushey, a Maronite from 'Amshīt, "Making his native village of Amshīt the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tushey has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munsif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Jiblī used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

[294] counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more ten once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was [in]"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in th village could read and write.

[213] [43] As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages.This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineges lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been take over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the new of the original lineage now identified as Minimal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Minimal Lineges B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could at explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus eliminated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size.Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the origini B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. Tis interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, with bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their three minimal lineages. In the view of the Munsifin in 1952, however, lineage XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other 'ayil.

[77] At some time around 1880 the outside world began to [illegible] upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ays. First,American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone i the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a [167] long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

[178] [43] By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olive, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, wit tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1953b, p. 254). With widened business and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Murqūṣ, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–40, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Murqūṣīs could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1940, p. 431). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Murqūṣ, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notions of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Rosen, 1940, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 13, for an examination of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, including Lebanon).

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The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Mazgil were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by a...ny. Malinowski (1945, pp. 47–48) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to educational as enticing people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Kabyleses and Batni say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The cultural backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the gossip hatreds, superstition, the apathy of peasant millions and evangelists alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small native "middle-class" groups taking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1945, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Mazgilis, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Mazgilis are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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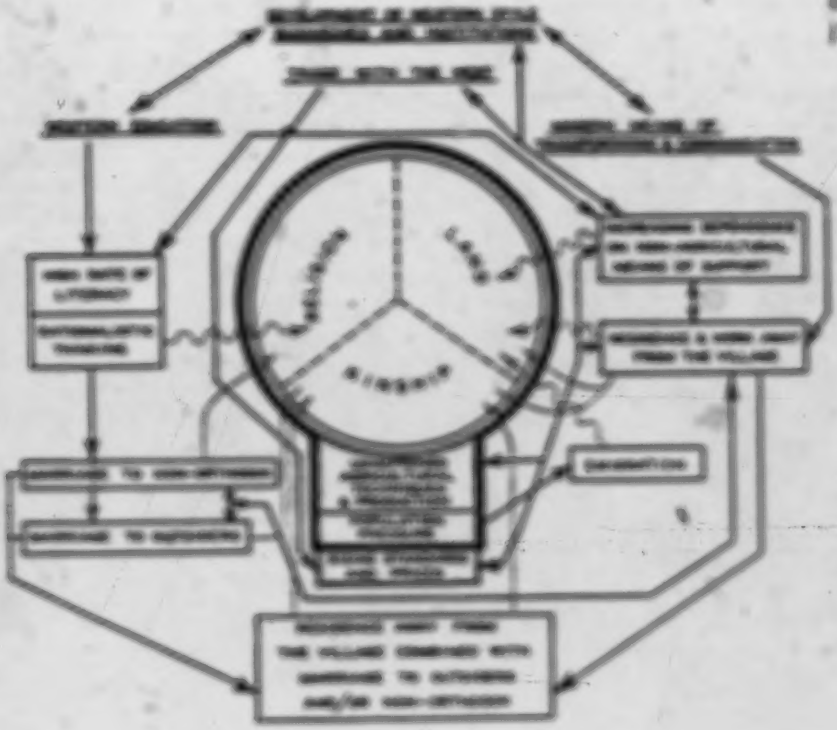
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF



LEGEND

Fig. 7

distance. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is not the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Mansūf the principle of devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

Religion. It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Mansūf is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion retains its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Mansūf. We have seen that the Mansūfīn closely identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Bodkin, 1950, p. 90.)

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of [redacted], have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural change.

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SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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WE have seen that Musqit has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation within the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions outward, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

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One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only if* it is small, and *if* it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is *most* effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the obsessed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-endogro-

[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Antoun (1954, especially chap. 6).

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morphic assimilation among the Jews was in part due to their solidification as an ethnic in-group after the Babylonian exile. (Witness, for example, the statement: "Then I cleansed them from everything foreign. . . ." Nehemiah 13:30). Moving forward in date, we are told that in the Arabian centers at the time of Mohammed, ME 671 L 671

> The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself (Robertson Smith, 1903, p. 2).

And at a later period, we find that the Ottoman Empire

> was composed of a large number of groups, local, tribal, linguistic and religious. On the whole, these groups formed closed communities. Each was a "world," sufficient to its members and meeting their ultimate loyalty. The worlds touched but did not mingle with each other; each looked at the rest with suspicion and even hatred. Almost all were stagnant, unchanging and limited. (Hourani, 1947, p. 22.)

And the following brings us to the present situation, of which it emphasizes the regional aspect: ME 671 621 L 671 621

> And so there grew up in the Arab world as we know it: an association of peoples, who are vividly conscious of a network of traditions, interests, feelings and sympathies that unite them, but who live in communities each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests.
>
> But we must not think of these communities as being Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and so on, to begin with. They were primarily much smaller and more local, for example, Baghdad and Mosul, Damascus and Aleppo, Upper Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Cairene, Delta—with a host of other regional communities and often deeply marked subdivisions as well. (Gibb, 1947b, p. 71.)

The political aspect of the situation is stressed in the following: ME 571 579

> The population of almost all 36 political units (in the Middle East) is splintered into a number of minority and tribal groups many with an intense internal loyalty. It is a region of nation against nation, and within one nation, group against group, and cross-cutting nations cooperating groups with stronger loyalties to themselves than to their nation. The national divisions are similar to those in the Balkans and Ireland. The group conflicts are similar but usually more intense than those in the United States between old Americans and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews, labor and management, Negroes and whites. And the groups with loyalty cross-cutting national ties are similar though less effective than world Communism. (Richardson and Reid, 1949, p. 480.)

Fisher views the situation from an ecological point of view. He points out (1947, p. 419) that there are three basic ecological groups in the Middle East—nomads, villagers, and city dwellers. The nomads detest the settled people but depend upon them for some of their food. The villagers hate the town and city dwellers because they look upon them as exploiters; yet the city is necessary to ME 621 579 L 621 579

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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, has arisen the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on this basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color masses, so the Middle East can be conceived as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet related ways of life. (*Ibid.*, p. 438.)

A recent paper by Patai (1955) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion. Working through the house you have no trouble identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades require a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 131.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group enmities can be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

THE PLACE OF MUNJIF IN THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES

MUNJIF as a village is a particular segment of Sphere 3 (Local Group). We have seen that endogamy tends to be characteristic of the less inclusive spheres and segments, in particular. We have also seen, however, that a certain number of Munjifin have *always* married out within the village itself but within the immediately surrounding district, al-Qurni. Must this be considered a violation of the principle of local endogamy in the traditional culture of the village?

Until recently, the tendency among most anthropologists has been to consider endogamy primarily as marriage within a certain defined kin group (*cf.* Lowie, 1948, p. 9). Munjif, as we have seen, is a defined kin group, and therefore, from this point of view, any marriage outside it must be exogamous. Al-Qurni, considered as a unit, is not a single kin group, for although innumerable matrilateral ties extend between the villages, each village has its own, exclusive patrilines. However, Lévi-Strauss (1949, pp. 56–60) has made a very useful distinction between what he calls "true" endogamy and "functional" endogamy. The former is the one which concerns us here: "True endogamy is only the refusal to recognize the possibility of marriage outside the human community, the latter being subject to very diverse definitions, according to the philosophy of the group considered." (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 57; our translation.) He goes on to say that the "human community" may be a whole tribe outside which everyone is considered to be inhuman, or it may simply be the community as defined by them, in which the persons concerned live (*ibid.*, p. 58). It is this second alternative which applies to the entire Qurni as a unit, in the minds of the members of its several villages. Unquestionably, each village is a stronger and more cohesive unit in itself than is al-Qurni as a unit. However, it was made quite clear to the writer by various Munjifin that although members of other Qurni villages were, strictly speaking, outsiders to Munjif itself, they were emphatically not strangers (*ghariib*). In this instance, the distinction between technical outsiders and strangers is a significant one. Between the various Qurni villages there are not only many matrilateral kin ties, but there are close friendships and frequent visiting. Al-Qurni is very small—its entire extent is visible from its physical center, Munjif, which is also the predominant village in it. As a nucleated, conceptually unified district, al-Qurni is something more than an agglomeration of local units (Sphere 3). It is, in itself, a local unit of a sort, though admittedly more diffuse than a single village. In addition to this, al-Qurni

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

is also a discrete example of Sphere 5 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox 621
milieu in a Maronite area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, in the light of Lévi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the special nature of al-Qurni, the marriages of Munşifin to members of other Qurni villages are considered to be locally endogamous. Let it be remembered, also, that such marriages, though traditional, have always been in the minority, for most Munşifin have always married each other.

The culture of *Munşif* therefore conforms to the sphere scheme in these two respects: (1) It *is* an endogamous local group (Sphere 3), within a, shall we say, secondary endogamous local group, al-Qurni, which surrounds it and of which it is the cultural center. (2) Al-Qurni, a district of very restricted size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 5).

When we turn to the internal segmentation of *Munşif*, we find that it is, 621
according to the expectation of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders 613
of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—retains functional signifi- 582
cance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether primarily nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage *exogamy*, rather than endogamy, is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relatives who ordinarily constitute extended families is explicitly against the Church rules of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectation in that they are not ideally endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in *Munşif* has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion at this point is not necessary. Suffice it to repeat only that it is viewed as the product of an earlier acculturation, the contact between pagan Arabs and Christianity, during which process the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Spencer, 1952, p. 487) gave way to the Christian rule against it. We can now, however, look upon this matter in another way. We can *say* that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed in the interests of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 5 (Sect); and *Munşif*'s Sphere 5 status is particularly keenly felt because an opposing sect presses so closely around it.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually no specific rule, does not appear really to be a violation of the lineage endogamy principle, when it is considered in full context. In this, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamy *does* occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage *mushʿa* (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Munsifin to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a *lineage*), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Munsif as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1930, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Hunsaf]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 THE group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the bakeries in the village has a professional baker and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeyl, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

These members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

621 221 233 563 The *Winterers* are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Munşif every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of this single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Ḥrajil there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at ʾarqbi. Also from Ḥrajil is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and is known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Ḥilwi with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkiyyi* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

621 563 The *Mawali* (designation of the Lebanese Shiʿa Muslims) consist of three house-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeyl on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hjoula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Wintrers, and the Mitwali are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Winterers and the Mtawli as groups. The Winterers are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mtawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mtawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mtawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or launderesses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concepts as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants:* (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawaar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

621 In the period between 1700 and 1720, the village community of Bishmizzen, North Lebanon, began its existence. Three family groups, belonging to different kinship groups, from various parts of the country, made the start. A church was built, and around it, as a physical and a societal center, the physical structure and social organization of the village developed. By 1750, three or four other family groups joined the vil-

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* University of Minnesota.

• 63 lage. These with the other family groups multiplied in time into distinct kinship groups, similar in structure and behavior to those from which they originally came. By intermarriage, by living together in close physical proximity and by working together on the land members of the various kinship groups developed a village community consciousness.

Between 1850 and 1890 the village achieved a harmonious, smoothly functioning form of social organization. Its local government was simple

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but adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all.[1] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1890, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

[1] The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Bishmizzeen and the whole of the Kura district.

existence, some two hundred and fifty years ago, the amount of its landed property has remained practically the same. In fact, there has been some decrease in the land area, due to the sale of some plots to outsiders. The early families, who established the village, got hold of the land and made use of it to the extent demanded by their needs. They were few in number and their needs were very simple. Consequently, during the first one hundred and fifty years or so, the balance of the land-population relationship was weighted heavily on the land side—a much greater supply than there was demand. This gave the village people (consciously or unconsciously) a strong impetus to increase their numbers. At the same time, it was realized that one more child on the farm was a decided economic asset, and not a liability. The growing child cost less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., to speak of, were involved. The people went on multiplying and increasing, and concomitantly, dividing and subdividing the land without being in the least concerned with the point to which the process was leading them.

The village population went on increasing, until about 1890. A balance was then struck—between the capacity of the village land and the number of people. The land could not support any more people, and there was a vague consciousness of a growing problem—what will the rising generation do? Meantime, the village

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166 The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 73 women, or about 13.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Bishmizzeen during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

621 186 In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1890-1939. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. E. Deeb to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1897.

" . . . When we reached Kaferhata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped at the spring. There we met K. Milky, his sons and M. Habib, who were leaving for America too. . . . At Beirut, we were betrayed by these

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621 friends. . . . We were made to pay
186 seven gold pounds and a half for the ticket, while they paid five or six each. Never mind! Providence will reward them with what they deserve. . . . Please let us know about the health of your children and their mother, and about our son Deeb and his mother. Also, let us know how was the olive crop and how was the
[578] wall case settled. . . ." (Stone walls are used as fences between pieces of land property, and have often been the cause of minor disputes in the village).

2. Same as above; dated March 14th, 1899.

" . . . As regards L. Milky, he has sent me two letters so far, asking for the amount I owe him. I wonder what has happened to the man! Is he in such a great need, or is he afraid that I shall not pay him back the amount? Please do your best to settle the affair, and I shall send you the money soon. . . . Business is bad in this country at present, and I have opened a new store which needs all of my cash money. . . . Dear brother, please tell me about the house and our land property, also let me know what happened to the fig tree which I planted near the fence wall. . . ."

3. From M. Sarkis to his mother; Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 29th, 1900.

" . . . Tell me how much it has cost you to plant the new orchard, and I shall send you the amount. . . . Is it true that my brother wants to sell his share of the land? If so, let me know how much is the amount, and I shall send it to you; then you will

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62h 186 transfer his share to my name. . . . Tell me the truth about the whole situation and stop writing each time differently. . . ."

4. From above mother to her son; Dated Dec. 1st, 1902.

" . . . May God grant you health and happiness, with your two sisters, of whom I think day and night. So far I have received from you 16 pounds, then 14 pounds and lately 6 pounds. . . . Tell your sister Deebeh that her children are doing very well. I have sent her a small bunch of the hair of each child. My only request from you, my son, is to take care of your two sisters and be generous in sending us enough money; May God bless you. We have bought for you the olive orchard. If you have an extra amount now, send it, and we shall buy more land for you. . . ."

5. From M. E. Deeb to M. Y. Elias, Santiago, Argentina; dated July 25th, 1903.

" . . . The anxiety you express about your son Selim has disturbed me a great deal. . . . Please be sure that he is working with me in the store as a son and not as a servant, as you say you were told by some of our people. Those are people of gossip and jealousy, who want to sow the seeds of dispute between us. . . . In the name of the love and friendship between us, I assure you that I love your son Selim more than my own children. . . . The coming long years will prove this to you, and God will reveal the truth. . . ."

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6. From Y. M. Elias to his father:

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Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 624 186

"... I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem..." [582]

7. From three sons to their father, N. B. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 23rd, 1906. 624 186 573

"... Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds.... Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you.... Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him...."

8. From M. Sarkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1913.

"... Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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friends. May God never bless such a sister. . . ."

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9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

". . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assaulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

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10. From S. M. Huleihel (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1919.

". . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. Please pay

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attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. Y. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

" . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindbane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Bishmizzeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Nejjar to her relative; Izano, Argentina, March 7th, 1923.

" . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization Is Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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B. Tammuz 5, 5-6 (no date) 1942
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that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Mo'awwaker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

169 sent or would be sent to the folks at
376 home. Sending the money home had
259 a double significance to the emigrants.
178 It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

169 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the*
626 *village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 98, could not stay in the village more

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than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 372, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[371] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. *The village woman attains economic independence:* Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 191 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

R 72 (A)

/67 head of the family, and her cash gave
• 6.24 her prestige.
563 In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

563 6. *The parent-child status relation-*
564 *ship is broken down:* Not only did
/77 the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a curve-

p.72(B)

595 sponding shift in the parent-child
Gf status relationship took place. Again,
178 confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

621 7. *Other indications of disorgani-*
178 *zation:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

p. 73(4)

• 621 178 Case 5 clearly shows the conflict between the role of a village friend or a kinship member and that of a profit-seeking man. The older emigrant is torn between the two roles. Should he share his business with the son of his friend and relative as they used to share back home, or should he keep the boy in the store as a simple worker? At home, the son's father is bewildered, and his faith in people and life is shaken.

Case 8 shows the confusion and conflict in the behavior of the emigrant. His sister had instigated him against their relative, accusing him of mishandling the money that had been sent by the brother. The emigrant writes a scolding letter to the relative, then sends an apology, turning his wrath against his sister.

Case 9 shows the conflict between two cultures, the culture of the new country and the one imported by the emigrants. N. borrows money from H. and fails to pay it back. H. strikes back according to the pattern of the new culture—debts must be paid. He sends a telegram to a relative of both urging foreclosure of N's land. (The reader may imagine the influence of such a telegram descending upon the little quiet village of Bishmizzeen.) N. strikes back by accusing H. of assaulting his (N's) wife and taking the case to the court, demanding financial indemnity. That was the most extreme departure from the village mores. It meant that N. was selling his wife's honor for money.

P 73 (B)

621
198 This and several similar scandals engaged the attention and gossip of the village for years. They went far in shaking the foundations of the village patterns of behavior.

P.74 (A)

I

621 361 IN ITS population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bishmizeen is typical of the Lebanon village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the 114 country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the invading American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience—his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

795 621 With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects—a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each 795 sect took it for granted that there had always 621 been and there will always be two sects in the 771 village—Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, or

795 method of worship, cut apart and separated from
• 621 the practices of daily living. It was rather a way
791 of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. Thus, to cast doubt upon the church meant casting doubt upon village life altogether.

II

797 Early in the second half of the 19th century,
621 three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Bishmizzeen and they need not be discussed here.

797 The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanon villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the
797 Kura district, including Bishmizzeen. About
621 1890, they succeeded in establishing a simple
872 elementary school at Bishmizzeen. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Tuition was free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

797 defined the new situation in a positive and favor-
621 able manner. They did not have to pay anything
872 extra for this new type of education. The mothers found it convenient that some one should take care of their children when they were not needed for farm work. At the same time, the rising silk trade created a demand for individuals able to write and use simple arithmetic. Some of the parents began to realize that it was necessary for their children to learn how to calculate, read, and write accurately. Further, during that period, the silk trade had begun to bring the village people in contact with the outside—Tripoli and Beirut—where there were learned people who held high positions in life. As a consequence of that contact, there was growing in the village a vague consciousness of the worthwhileness of learning and knowledge. The Arabic word "Ilm," the equivalent for knowledge, was beginning to assert itself in the village vocabulary. In a word, the stage was set for the establishment of a regular school, and the villagers seemed willing to cooperate.

797 But that initial definition of the situation did not
798 last very long. A new element appeared, a very significant element, which made the villagers more wary of what was taking place. It was observed that a new type of religion was being taught at the school—aside from "innocent" arithmetic, reading, and writing—and that every Sunday the "foreign" missionary would come to the school and preach the Gospel in a new fasion to the students and others who gathered around. The people were not ready to tolerate this new element. It meant a direct attack upon the authority of the church, and this meant nothing less than undermining the integrity of village life as a whole. At the same time, the Russian mission did not like the idea of the Protestant mission working in the Greek Orthodox villages of the Kura district. Through the native Bishop of the district, they encouraged the villagers to do something about it. The instructions were "Do everything but don't touch the person of the missionary."

One Sunday, when the missionary came to the village to do his weekly preaching, the village leaders had already prepared a group of youths for action. At the appointed hour, the youths moved to the mission school and began shouting and making deafening noise by beating on empty cans, while the missionary and the teacher conducted the meeting inside. In a short while the mob became

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797 more menacing, and the two men had to leave the
798 village. The following Sunday, the mob attacked the school and threw the benches into the street. The school was closed, within one year of its beginning. ("... One Sunday, our service (in Bishmizeen) was broken up by a mob of boys, throwing stones at doors and windows and beating tins and shouting. It appeared, however, that persons of most influence were on our side, and the government has issued an order to the people to respect our rights...." From the 1898 Mission Report, Beirut, Lebanon.)

797 However, the incident left its mark upon the
• 621 village. Among the people there were some who
872 looked into the future and felt the urgent need of education for their children. The mission school offered them the opportunity, and they were determined to grasp it. For the time being, they kept quiet.

Within the following two years, the desire for a school in the village grew very strong. A delegation of elders was sent to Tripoli to interview the Bishop about the matter. They requested him to establish a school in Bishmizeen. The Bishop was reluctant about that. He advised them to send their children to the Russian mission school in the neighboring village of Amyoon. Their feeling of community pride was aroused. They felt it was an insult that they should send their children to another village for education. Certainly, their community was important enough to deserve a school. The Bishop resorted to another argument, which proved to be very tactless. He reminded the elders of the fact that the more sophisticated Bishmizeen people were enough of a trouble for him without being educated in a regular school, and that school education would make them much more difficult to handle. The elders retorted by threatening to resort to the American mission and invite them to reopen the school. The Bishop reminded them of the danger such a move would involve for the religious beliefs of their children. One of the elders replied by saying, "Your Holiness, we don't mean that our children should change their faith; we want them to be educated as your Holiness was at a mission school. Your Holiness did not change your faith, and our children need not change theirs." (... Three schools have been begun in this district (Kura).... The poor old Greek Orthodox Bishop of Tripoli is at his wits end to know how to keep

P 339(8)

797 hold of his people in these villages...." From
•621 an undated Mission report.)
872 With that, the elders parted, went to the mission center and requested them to reopen the school in Bishmizeen, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the mission reminded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the mission, and the school was reopened in Bishmizeen.

797 The above story was dwelt upon with a view to
798 bringing forth several significant points. The
621 first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bishmizeen to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bishmizeen people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Moslem minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although shocking, was not as much so as it was in the case of other religious groups in complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered heretic by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Since then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Moslems of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bishmizeen to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

621 The second point to be emphasized refers to the
794 manner in which the village elders argued with the Bishop and finally used a threat. That was unprecedented behavior, on the part of a lay village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, that was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

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621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
575 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance 562 to all village girls. Aside from that, the two 871 sexes in Bishmizeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

621 Within a few years the school became the focus 871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical 517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at 517 the school, involving the whole of the village community and other villages, too. That was the [177] acting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 517 erected, play acting materialised. At first only young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 562 536 578 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on the attitude of the village people towards acting by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 621 Within a few years acting became one more established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

536 621 On each occasion, a huge crowd, from Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 186 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 179 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religous, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Bishmizzeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

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871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influencial in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

● 621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

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178
871

community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Bishmizeen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the list, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *External localism* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but

[1] For [illegible], "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 48 (1942), pp. 450–59; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* 1948 (1949), pp. 494–99.

McCulloch E-1 (9512)954 MEI Lebanon MEI

boundaries. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansūf. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Mansūf also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansūf, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansūf of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, conservative and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansūf began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, there were factors come to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansūf, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on el-Mismiē. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in el-Mismiē. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education — in both Arabic and English — became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for el-Mismiē. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flow of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in el-Mismiē, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 10 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 16, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is increasing, and it includes most of the younger heads of households. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken completely and decisively with their village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Mansūf are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirūt, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of households, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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[illegible] specialists as follows: surgeon, 1; priest, 1; rural deliver, 1; butcher, 1; storekeeper, 1; fisherman, 1; surveyor, 1; miner, 1; carpenter, 1; tanner 2. There are 4 small stores in the village. There are also two industries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the rural deliver, the other by one of the tanners.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs [illegible] and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; foreman, 1; salesman, 1; teller, 1; seamstress, 3; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 1; surveyor, 1; merchant, 2; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 14. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and novel occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology—in the prevention and cure of disease, for example,—rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in Akbanalli. Associated with each structure is a system of ritual lore of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence as it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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no of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil [illegible] tion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 35 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual ceremonies all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization at al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is *defined* in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

only one exception to this rule in al-Mumif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never makes any distinction over the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah" — "father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Mumif. It can be said here only that these terms — which are verbal symbols of status and role — encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social awareness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *zihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties — which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage — between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Mumif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

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the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[9] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[9] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

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seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

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On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

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The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

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In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education—and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true—he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Mansif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

369 THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

369 The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

113 [1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 3-17.

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114 [v] Afif I. Tannous, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *saha*, the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jirak*, prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

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He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S. G. S. for 1947-48; 1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

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and new forms of human relationships are competing, and in many cases conflicting with the old folkways and mores. In some villages one can witness indications of severe disorganization. This state of affairs might be considered as an index of health and growth. It might, on the other hand, result in much disruption and cultural loss. Only tentative and partial experiments have been made to date in working out a progressive pattern for village life, as in the co-operative movement described above. This is a serious matter for Lebanon to consider, for its future development depends to a large extent upon the success with which its village communities adjust to the changing times without abandoning the fundamental role they have played in shaping Lebanon's national character.

held only by Christians : the fourth by many of the Maronites, the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views : that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them ; but the more reasonable and responsible of them recognize the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provision for them.

8

The problem of the Shi'is is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druzes of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor : the backwardness of the Shi'is in social organization and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organization and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the measures taken against them by the Turkish authorities

Lebanon M.E.1

APPENDIX II

THE JIBMAIL RURAL WELFARE CENTER, LEBANON

by E. Basile Alter*

The Welfare Center is located in the village of Jibmail, Akkar, Lebanon, which has around nine hundred people, all of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihood. This village is the geographical center for an ecological area of some twenty thousand people. The village reconstruction program began in 1955, though our Presbyterian Mission had an academic school there before that time. Here is the only controlled experimental demonstration center of the kind in Lebanon.

When this reconstruction project began, Jibmail, like most other villages of the Near East was designed to half-crops, half-health, half-education learning, half-happiness, and half-living. Since we were convinced that all of these factors must be treated as a unit, the programme dealt with the following: fundamental education for teen-age boys and girls, as well as adults, control of diseases of man, animals and plants, improvement of agriculture and live stock, control of water and soil conservation and irrigation, rural industries to make use of leisure time; and the development of moral, social and spiritual values within the indigenous religious cultures.

We have been experimenting for several years with a strategy which would reach the whole village through centering individuals, family units, the village and the ecological area in their "grass-roots" environment. This technique is the same as that which would be used to meet the economy of a rural family which had run down land, poor crops - hence poor food, inferior animals and trees, poor health; and consequently poor members in the family unit. In the Near East the village resembles a large family, consequently there must be a unit approach, rather than the departmental approach, as is used in the extension systems of the West. After there is considerable development the departmental approach may apply equally well to the Near East.

Over a period of years we have accumulated considerable data on this unit approach. Our Centre is constantly being requested by individuals, government and others to share this data, especially in the Arabic language. We feel that it would be a real service to the whole Near East to provide some printed material.

We have the following assets:

1. Personnel and leadership. Mrs. Alter and I have had special training and experience in rural education and rural reconstruction. We have developed a staff of able Lebanese who understand our philosophy and co-operate as colleagues. We are in process of developing a Lebanese Board of Directors to take over more and more of the administration.

2. We have two schools, for boys and girls, which are co-operating closely with the Fundamental Education of UNESCO. These schools have a student body and graduates through whom we may continue experimentation and demonstration.

* Mr. Basile Alter is an American in charge of the Jibmail Centre. He is assisted in the management of the Centre by Mr. Nasir Shouny, a Lebanese.